Immigration
Immigration - U.S
1922

A Comprehensive Immigration Policy and Program

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OUTLINES

of

A Comprehensive Immigration Policy and Program

Immigration—Past and Prospective

Immigration the past decade has been enormous (10,122,862 for the ten years ending 1914) and will in all probabilty become so again after the war closes. For the poverty of Europe and the frightful taxes that will be inevitable, together with the horror of militarism which has deluged the nations with blood, sown the fields with human bones, and overwhelmed all working classes, will cause millions to flee to a land free from militarism and relatively prosperous.

Industrial Unrest

Although America has vast resources, two-thirds of our toilers are in serious poverty, receiving less than $15 per week when they work. Even at that rate, however, they are not sure of steady employment. The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations has disclosed how serious are the problems of unemployment and industrial unrest. Is there no casual relation between these problems and our recent vast immigration?

Immigration and Citizenship

America's political institutions and social organization are based on democracy. There is developing among us, however, a large adult male alien population still owing allegiance to other governments. The last census (1910) shows that out of 5,942,000 foreign-born males in America twenty-one years of age and over,

3,221,000 were still aliens. While 770,000 born in Great Britain had become citizens of the United States, 449,000 were still British; in the case of Germany 889,000 had become naturalized, while 389,000 were still Germans. Those, however, who come from South Europe seem less ready to become Americans. Austria, for instance, gave us 149,000 naturalized citizens to 460,000 aliens; Hungary 36,000 citizens to 219,000 aliens, and Russia 192,000 citizens to 545,000 aliens; while Italy gave us only 126,000 citizens to 586,000 aliens.

How many of these aliens had been here less than five years and therefore were still ineligible for citizenship the table did not show. But, however that may be, it seems wholly undesirable that the proportion of aliens to naturalized citizens from any particular land should be so large as these figures show. Should not the rate of permissible immigration be such as to keep the naturalized citizens from any land always in a substantial majority?

These facts and considerations suggest the importance, on the one hand, of checking this inflow of vast numbers who maintain allegiance to foreign governments, and also, on the other hand, of promoting such education of aliens permanently residing in America as shall help them rapidly to acquire our ideas and ideals, and transform them speedily into true American citizens.

There is, however, another important set of factors bearing upon America's immigration problems, namely:

The New Orient

New Japan has already acquired the mechanical instruments, the political, economic and industrial methods, and the science, education, ideas and ideals of occidental civilization. New China is rapidly following in the footsteps of Japan. Both are increas-

ingly self-conscious and insistent on courteous treatment and observance of treaties. They are asking, with growing earnestness, for recognition on a basis of equality with nations of the West.

The great world-problem of the twentieth century is undoubtedly the problem of the contact of the East and the West. Whether it shall bring us weal or woe depends largely on the United States. Shall our Oriental policy be based on race pride, disdain and selfishness? Shall it be entirely devoid of sympathy? And shall we rely on brute force for carrying it through? Or shall we give justice, courtesy and a square deal, refusing to be stamped by ignorance, ill-founded suspicion and falsehood? Shall we "prepare" to maintain by our military might a policy of arrogant disregard of their needs and feelings, or shall we remove dangers of conflict by a policy of friendly consideration and genuine helpfulness?

The New Oriental Policy

The New Orient renders obsolete and dangerous our nineteenth century Asiatic policy. **Let us now promptly adopt a new policy; one that will provide, on the one hand, for the just demands of the Pacific Coast States to be protected from a swamping Asiatic immigration; and yet that also provides on the other hand for full courtesy of treatment and for complete freedom from race discrimination which is inevitably regarded as humiliating.** The new policy should provide for observance of the spirit no less than of the wording of our treaties, and be thus in harmony with the principles of good neighborliness.

The New Immigration Policy

All this means that we need comprehensive immigration legislation dealing with the entire question in such a way as to **conserve American institutions, pro-**

tect American labor from dangerous economic competition, and promote intelligent and enduring friendliness between America and all the nations, East and West, because free from differential race treatment.

The Literacy Test

Restriction of immigration has been widely demanded in recent years. Three times Congress has passed a literacy test immigration bill. Three times has it been vetoed. But even if it became law, would it suitably and adequately regulate immigration? Would it avail in maintaining a wholesome proportion between the aliens and the naturalized? Moreover, a literacy test law could not wisely be applied to Asiatics, for it would admit millions.

Numerical Limitation

Do we not now need legislation, limiting immigration on a numerical basis? Should not the annual immigration be adapted to our economic conditions? And should not that limitation deal equally with all races? Should not our immigration legislation, moreover, also provide for the rapid education and Americanization of those who are admitted?

IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION AND "PREPAREDNESS"

Such a policy and program constitutes one of the pressing needs of the times. Quite as important as military "preparedness" to resist attack is diplomatic and legislative "preparedness" to reduce tension and promote international friendship.

The following paragraphs present in barest outlines:

A CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM FOR COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

1. The Control of Immigration

Immigration from every land should be controlled, and, if excessive, it should be restricted. The prin-

ciple of restriction should be applied equally to every land, and thus avoid differential race treatment.

2. Americanization the Principle of Control

The proven capacity for genuine Americanization on the part of those already here from any land should be the measure for the further immigration of that people. Newcomers make their first contact with America through those who speak their own language. The Americanization, therefore, of newcomers from any land depends largely on the influence of those already here from that land. The number of newcomers annually admissible from any land, therefore, should be closely dependent on the number of those from that land who, having been here five years or more, **have actually become American citizens.** These know the language, customs and ideals of both peoples, ours and theirs.

America should admit as immigrants only so many aliens from any land as she can Americanize.

3. The Proposed Restriction Law

Let, therefore, an immigration law be passed which provides that **the maximum permissible annual immigration from any people shall be a definite per cent (say five) of those from that people who have already become naturalized citizens, together with their American-born children.**

The grandchildren as a rule do not know their ancestral language, and therefore do not aid particularly in the Americanization of newcomers.

The permissible annual immigration from the respective peoples, as calculated from the census of 1910, is given in the tables of the Appendix. They show that in general there would be no restriction on immigration from North Europe. The reverse, however, would be the case for the countries of South Europe. The permissible immigration from China

and Japan would be less than that which has been coming in recent years. (See the charts pp. 8-9 and tables III and IV of the Appendix).

Provision should be also made for the protection of all newcomers from ruthless exploitation and for their distribution, employment and rapid Americanization. To aid in the accomplishment of these ends, the Federal Government should establish—

4. A Bureau of Registration

All aliens should register annually until they become American citizens, and should pay an annual registration fee, of say ten dollars. We need to know who the aliens are and where they live, and they need to know that we know these facts about them. A system of registration could be worked out in connection with a National Employment Bureau as suggested by the late Prof. Henderson that would not involve police surveillance. This Bureau should be regarded as a method for friendly aid, not of hostile and suspicious control.

5. A Bureau for the Education of Aliens

This Bureau should set standards, prepare textbooks, promote the establishment of night schools by states, cities and towns—which might receive federal subsidies—and hold examinations. The education and the examinations should be free. Provision should be made for the reduction of the registration fee by, say one dollar, for every examination passed. The education should be simple and practical, avoiding merely academic proficiency. Let there be six examinations, three in English and one each in the History of the American People, in the Methods of our Government, local, state and federal, and in the Ideals of Democracy. When all the examinations have been passed, there would still remain the annual registration fee of four dollars, so long as the individual chooses to remain an alien. There should also be

6. New Regulations for the Bureau of Naturalization

Citizenship should be granted only to those who have passed the required examinations provided by the Bureau of Alien Education and have maintained good behavior during the five years of probationary residence. The naturalization ceremony might well take the form of a dignified welcome service—say on a single day in the year—the Fourth of July, with appropriate welcome orations, banners, badges and banquets.

7. Citizenship for all Who Qualify, Regardless of Race

Eligibility to naturalization should be based upon personal qualifications of intelligence, knowledge and character. The mere fact of race should be neither a qualification nor a disqualification.

Such are the main outlines of the proposed Comprehensive and Constructive Program here offered for the solution of the entire immigration problem, Asiatic as well as European. For a more adequate understanding, however, of this general proposal we should consider

8. A Few Additional Details

(a) **No change should be made in the schedule for maximum immigration between the census periods.** With each new census a new schedule should be prepared, but it should not go into operation automatically. Congress should reconsider the whole matter once in ten years upon receiving the figures based upon the new census, and decide either to adopt the new schedule or some new percentage rate, or possibly to continue the same schedule for another decade.

(b) **Provision should be made for certain excepted classes.** Government officials, travelers and students would, of course, be admitted outside of the fixed schedule figures. Aliens who have already resided in America and taken out their first papers, or who

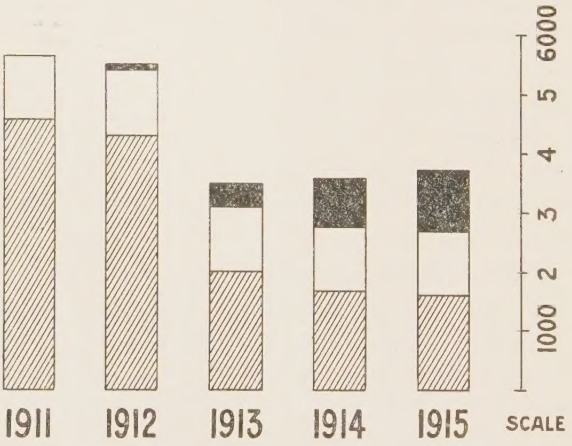
KEY FOR BOTH CHARTS

COLUMNS INDICATE ACTUAL ADMISSIONS

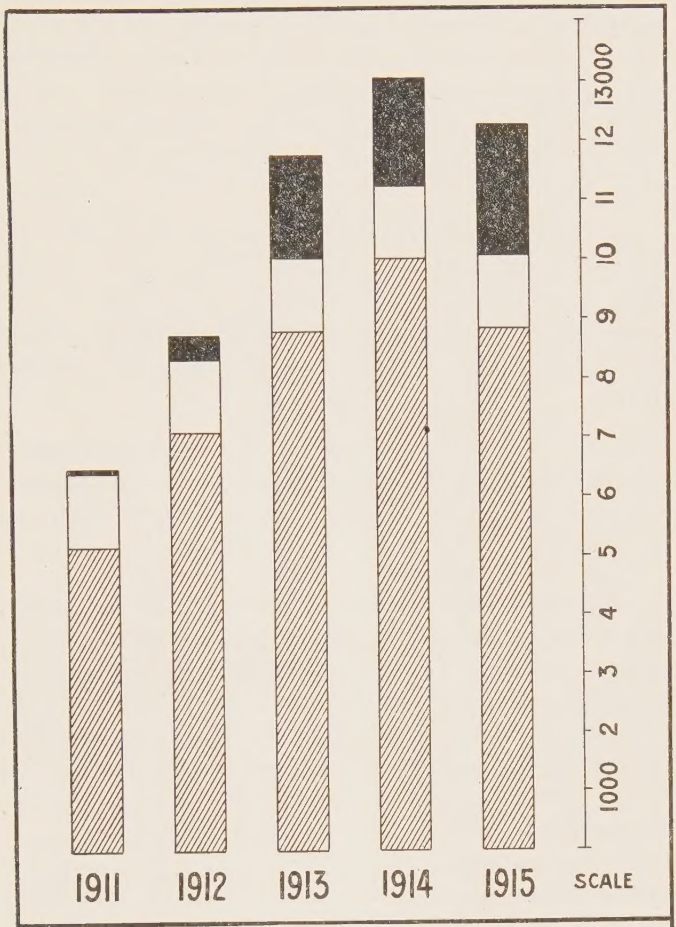
■ = MEN WHO WOULD HAVE BEEN EXCLUDED

□ = MEN WHO WOULD HAVE BEEN ADMITTED

▨ = NON-IMMIGRANTS, WOMEN AND CHILDREN — NOT AFFECTED



HOW THE 5% RESTRICTION PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE AFFECTED CHINESE IMMIGRATION



HOW THE 5%
RESTRICTION PROPOSAL
WOULD HAVE AFFECTED
JAPANESE
IMMIGRATION

have passed all the required examinatons, should also doubtless be admitted freely, regardless of the schedule. Women and children under fourteen years of age should also be included among the excepted classes. By providing for such exceptions the drastic features of the proposed plan would be largely, perhaps wholly relieved.

(c) Should the restriction required by the five per cent plan be regarded as excessively severe, the per cent rate could be advanced. In any case it seems desirable that **the five per cent restriction should be applied only to males fourteen years of age and over.**

(d) In order **to provide for countries from which few have become American citizens,** a minimum permissible annual immigration of, say 1000 might be allowed, regardless of the percentage rate.

(e) **Registration, with payment of the fee, might well be required only of male aliens twenty-one years of age and over.** Since, however, it is highly desirable that immigrant women also should learn the English language, provision might be made that **all alien women should register without payment of the fee** and be given the privileges of education and of taking the examinations free of cost. This privilege might extend over a period of five years. After passing the examinations there should be no further requirement for registration. If, however, after five years the examinations have not been passed, then they should be required to pay a registration tax of six dollars annually, a reduction of one dollar being allowed for every examination passed.

(f) In order **to meet special cases and exigencies,** such as religious or political persecutions, war, famine or flood, provision might well be made to give special power to the Commissioner of Immigration in con-

sultation with the Commissioner of Labor and one or two other specified high officials to order exceptional treatment.

(g) **The proposed policy,** if enacted into law, **would put into the hands of Congress a flexible instrument for the continuous and exact regulation of immigration,** adapting it from time to time to the economic conditions of the country.

(h) How the war is to influence future immigration is uncertain. Some anticipate an enormous increase, while others expect a decrease. Is it not important for Congress to take complete and exact control of the situation while the present lull is on and be able to determine what the maximum immigration shall be before we find ourselves overwhelmed with its magnitude? If the post bellum immigration should prove to be small, a law limiting it to figures proposed by this plan would do no harm. If it should prove to be enormous we would be prepared to deal with it.

(i) **An objection** to the proposed plan is raised by some. It is urged that tens of thousands would suffer **the hardship of deportation** because of arrival after the maximum limit has been reached. Such a situation, however, could easily be avoided by a little care in the matter of administration. Provision could be made, for instance, that each of the transportation lines bringing immigrants from any particular land should agree with the immigration office upon the maximum number of immigrants that it may bring to America during the year, the sum total of these agreements being equal to maximum permissible immigration from that particular land. There would then be no danger of deportation because of excessive immigration. The steamship lines, moreover, would see to it that their immigration accommodation would be continuously occupied throughout the year, avoiding thus a rush during the first two or three months of the year.

(j) **A second objection** is raised by some, namely, **the difficulty of selecting the favored few** in those countries where the restriction would be severe. This difficulty, however, would be completely obviated by the steamship companies themselves. Immigrants would secure passage in the order of their purchase of tickets; first come, first served.

(k) In order **to alleviate hardship** as far as possible, might not immigration inspection offices be established in the principal ports of departure, and provision be made that all immigration from specified regions should receive inspection at those offices alone, such inspecton to be final?

Would not the above proposals for a Comprehensive and Constructive Immigration Policy coordinate, systematize and rationalize our entire procedure in dealing with immigration, and solve in a fundamental way its most perplexing difficulties? Such a policy would protect American labor from danger of sudden and excessive immigration from any land. It would promote the wholesome and rapid assimilation of all newcomers. It would regulate the rate of the coming of immigrants from any land by the proven capacity for Americanization of those from that land already here. It would keep the newcomers always in the minority. It would be free from every trace of differential race treatment. Our relations with Japan and China would thus be right.

Such a policy, therefore, giving to every people the "most favored nation treatment," would maintain and deepen our international friendship on every side.

Criticism of this plan is invited. If the reader finds himself in harmony with this proposal a letter of endorsement would be appreciated.

APPENDIX

The statistical tables of this appendix give the actual immigration of the five years ending June 30, 1915, so classified as to show what the effect upon that immigration would have been if the proposed five per cent standard for its limitation had been in force. The basal figures here given have been especially prepared for the writer by the statistician of the Immigration Bureau.

In classifying aliens the Immigration Bureau distinguishes between immigrants (who come for permanent residence here) and non-immigrants (who come for a transient stay). The five per cent restriction proposal does not in any way limit the entering of non-immigrants, of children or of women. It affects only males fourteen years of age and over.

Column 6 gives the standards for the maximum permissible annual immigration of males from the various races and peoples according to the five per cent restriction policy advocated in this pamphlet. This column is derived from the Census of 1910; the figure for each people is five per cent of the American born children of foreign parents of that people plus the number of those from that same people who have become naturalized citizens. This last item (the naturalized citizens) was secured "by mathematical calculations based upon Tables XIII and XXXIII, pp. 975 and 1082, Vol. I of the Census Population Report for 1910." Subtracting the figures of column 6 from those of column 5 (the average annual number of males actually admitted) we secure **column 7, showing the annual average number of males who would have been excluded** had the five per cent limitation principle been in force.

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The number of immigrant children admitted during the five years ending June 30, 1915, may be secured by subtracting the sum of the figures given in Table I columns 3 and 4 from the corresponding figures given in column 2.

In order to show in more detail the working of the five per cent limitation plan, Tables III and IV have been added dealing with Japan, China and Italy for each year from 1911 to 1915.

POINTS TO NOTICE

1. The proposals of this pamphlet would have imposed more rigid restriction not only upon Japanese but also upon Chinese than is imposed by the present laws and arrangements.

2. The restriction upon Italians is particularly striking. But note the large disparity between Italian male and female immigrants (Table III, columns 4 and 5).

3. The plan here proposed if in force would have imposed no restriction upon Hebrew immigration.

4. The average immigration from Europe for the past five years was of course seriously disturbed by the striking decrease for 1915 because of the war. Allowance must be made for this factor.

5. The restriction of the immigration of men will of course sooner or later affect that of women and children.

6. In column 6, the figure 1,000 should be substituted in each place where the five per cent rate would allow an immigration less than this amount, in harmony with the proposal paragraph (d) on the tenth page.

7. The total annual average immigration of males from those countries whose actual immigration was less than their permissible maximum amounted to about 170,000, while the total permissible annual immigration of males from those countries that exceeded their permissible maximum amounted to about 136,000. If the immigration, therefore, of the past five years had been regulated by the policy set forth in this pamphlet, the average immigration of males from all countries would have been about 306,000 annually, instead of the average of 518,000 that actually were admitted.

Tables showing how the Five Per Cent Restriction Proposal would have affected Immigration for the Period 1911-1915

TABLE I

Aliens Actually Admitted during the five years ending June 30, 1915; cf. Annual Reports of Immigration Bureau, Tables IV and VII B

TABLE II

The Proposed Five Per Cent Standard

RACE OR PEOPLE	1 Non-Immigrants	2 Immigrants	3 Female Immigrants 14 years and over	4 Male Immigrants 14 years and over	5 Annual Average of Column 4	6 Maximum Permissible Annual Immigration of Males (1)	7 Annual Average of Males who would have been excluded (2)
1. African (black)	16,173	34,221	13,042	18,114	3,622	209	3,413
2. Armenian	786	26,384	3,346	21,180	4,236	444	3,792
3. Bohemian and Moravian	2,689	40,332	14,199	18,388	3,677	16,994	
4. Bulgarian, Serbian and Montenegrin	6,301	48,556	3,873	42,506	8,501	†5,601	†19,916
5. Croatian and Slovenian.	7,938	125,073	29,088	85,083	17,016		
6. Chinese	12,090	9,760	1,212	7,778	1,555	1,106	449
7. Cuban	15,565	17,109	4,297	10,326	2,065	590	1,475
8. Dalmatian, Bosnian and Hezegovinian	920	18,046	2,169	15,185	3,037	*	
9. Dutch and Flemish	16,426	58,545	15,893	30,816	6,163	12,956	
10. East Indian	263	1,124	37	1,070	214	*	
11. English	166,990	252,877	91,865	119,730	23,946	127,745	
12. Finnish	6,387	45,453	16,423	24,956	4,991	5,038	
13. French	27,595	87,968	30,525	41,636	8,327	47,735	
14. German	79,920	313,279	109,081	148,634	29,726	333,581	
15. Greek	10,690	168,299	15,833	145,859	29,171	886	28,285
16. Hebrew	17,719	437,696	150,083	186,402	37,280	37,342	
17. Irish	49,317	168,592	75,491	81,220	16,244	201,491	
18. Italian (North)	36,282	154,751	33,319	104,502	20,900	††45,768	††72,568
19. Italian (South)	96,051	825,250	175,281	537,181	107,436		
20. Japanese	15,562	36,599	22,317	12,292	2,458	1,220	1,238
21. Korean	58	403	205	159	32	*	
22. Lithuanian	2,697	79,974	28,442	44,766	8,953	4,360	3,593
23. Magyar	11,845	122,347	40,975	61,616	12,323	5,436	6,887
24. Mexican	23,462	75,821	20,179	36,752	7,350	8,648	
25. Pacific Islander	76	33	11	20	4	*	
26. Polish	26,631	462,696	151,604	260,008	52,001	49,212	2,789
27. Portuguese	4,702	44,461	12,274	24,809	4,961	3,788	1,173
28. Roumanian	4,038	52,361	8,836	40,320	8,064	676	7,388
29. Russian	15,789	142,167	16,255	119,513	23,902	2,203	21,699
30. Ruthenian (Russniak)	21,104	109,937	37,186	65,262	13,052	663	12,389
31. Scandinavian	56,621	176,513	58,573	102,701	20,520	102,095	
32. Scotch	41,193	100,518	37,603	46,275	9,235	38,776	
33. Slovak	7,153	101,815	33,385	53,849	10,769	6,831	3,938
34. Spanish	25,870	42,949	6,981	31,254	6,250	906	5,344
35. Spanish-American	9,268	7,069	1,764	4,237	847	128	719
36. Syrian	2,953	30,969	8,114	18,691	3,738	844	2,894
37. Turkish	436	7,235	370	6,672	1,334	58	1,276
38. Welsh	4,278	11,255	3,245	6,230	1,246	12,188	
39. West Indian (except Cuba)	6,329	5,663	2,213	2,814	562	17	445
40. Others	2,009	15,728	1,174	13,954	2,790		
Totals	852,176	4,459,831	1,276,763	2,592,770	518,554		

(1) For the derivation of the figures given in this column see explanatory paragraph page
(2) The figures of this column are secured by subtracting the figures of column 6 from those of column 5.

* No Census Data.
† Bulgarians, Croatians, etc., are combined in this column.
†† North and South Italians are combined in this column.

Tables showing how the Five Per Cent Restriction Proposal would have affected Immigration from Japan, China and Italy for each of the five years indicated

	TABLE III Aliens Actually Admitted for the Years Indicated; cf. Annual Reports of Immigration Bureau					TABLE IV The Proposed Five Per Cent Standard	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Non-Immigrants	Immigrants	Children under 14	Women 14 years and over	Men 14 years and over	Maximum Permissible Annual Immigration of Males	Annual Average of Males who would have been excluded
JAPANESE:							
1911	1,915	4,575	300	3,011	1,264	1,220	44
1912	2,574	6,172	328	4,123	1,721	1,220	501
1913	3,370	8,302	437	4,988	2,877	1,220	1,657
1914	4,075	8,941	438	5,502	3,001	1,220	1,781
1915	3,628	8,609	487	4,693	3,429	1,220	2,209
	15,562	36,599	1,990	22,317	12,292	6,100	6,192
CHINESE:							
1911	4,350	1,307	112	165	1,030	1,106	———
1912	3,883	1,608	207	201	1,200	1,106	94
1913	1,465	2,022	189	303	1,530	1,106	424
1914	1,218	2,354	144	276	1,934	1,106	828
1915	1,174	2,469	118	267	2,084	1,106	978
	12,090	9,760	770	1,212	7,778	5,530	2,324
ITALIANS:							
1911	23,410	189,950	24,071	39,761	126,118	45,768	80,350
1912	27,650	162,273	23,114	38,262	100,867	45,768	55,099
1913	44,372	274,147	31,550	50,263	192,334	45,768	146,566
1914	27,320	296,414	37,711	60,695	198,008	45,768	152,240
1915	9,452	57,217	13,272	19,589	24,356	———	———
	132,204	980,001	129,718	208,600	641,683	45,768 228,840	——— 434,255

IMPORTANT BOOKS

BY

PROF. SIDNEY L. GULICK, M.A., D.D.

The American-Japanese Problem

A Study of the Racial Relations of the East and West. Charles Scribner Sons, N. Y. 1914. $1.75.

A clear, impressive, and illuminating account of the situation in regard to the Japanese in California, and a thorough, scientific discussion of the possibilities of the Japanese, in this country as immigrants and citizens. Dr. Gulick shows by illustration and argument the reasonable, honorable, and satisfactory solution of a difficult question. In a very interesting and entertaining way he discusses every side of the question, both from the Japanese and American point of view, and his conclusions, in regard to past events and future possibilities, are most valuable and important.

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Evolution of the Japanese Social and Psychic

8 vo., fifth edition, 1905. $2.00. Revell Co., N. Y.

The late *Prof. William James*—"I cannot withhold the tribute of my admiration. It makes me understand the Japanese as I never did before. It is a real pleasure to find a book that holds from beginning to end to psychological principles and to the realities of human nature. . . . A genuine work of interpretation and a model for future studies in ethnic character."

Prof. Edmund Buckley (in American Journal of Sociology, University of Chicago)—"This work presents the best description and the most searching analysis that has yet appeared of that unique ethnical phenomenon, the modern reconstruction of Japan. As description, the work constitutes a very treasury of mental characterization so classified as to require nearly all of the thirty-seven chapters of the work."

The White Peril in the Far East

(Published at the time of the Russo-Japanese War.)
Revell Co., N. Y. $1.00.

The conclusions presented in this volume were gained from extended intimate acquaintance and conversation with Japanese men of affairs, with whom the author was in daily contact. He finds that the aggressiveness of the white race, their progressive civilization, the white man's greedy dreams of Oriental Empire, his haughty domineering spirit, are as real a cause of the war as the direct economic problems. There is a yellow peril for us, but it is not so threatening as the white peril for the Far East.